

CURB THE AGGRESSOR AND DEFEND THE PEACE

Replying to questions put by a correspondent of the "Giornala della Sera", Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy stated:

"There are no grounds whatsoever for assuming that the Soviet Union entertains even the slightest intention of attacking any country or that the Soviet Union has taken action, or intends to take action, that runs counter to the national interests of Italy. On the contrary, it was the Soviet Union which delivered the decisive blows that brought about the defeat of fascism.

"Consequently, I consider it absurd to discuss the hypothesis of war arising between the Soviet Union and Italy. If there is anybody who advances such a hypothesis it merely means that he is of the opinion that Italy should wage war against the Soviet Union for the very same reasons that the American multimillionaires would like to wage war against the Soviet Union, precisely because the U.S.S.R. is not a capitalist state, but a socialist state of working people.

"It is quite clear that this is not the hypothesis of a national war but the typical line of a class and ideological war by reactionaries and capitalists against social progress and against the working people.

It is also quite clear what would be the position in this event of those who stand for social progress and Socialism and against reaction.

"As for the hypothesis about pursuit of an aggressor by the Soviet Army on our territory, in this event I think it would be the direct duty of the Italian people, who cannot but condemn any and every aggression, to render the Soviet Army the most effective aid and to teach the aggressor the lesson he deserves to be taught. To announce immediately to the whole world that the Italian people—at any rate the overwhelming majority of the active and militant sections—view the matter in just this way means, unquestionably, to contribute to curbing the aggressor and preserving the peace."

THE WORKING CLASS WILL RESIST

In a recent statement Comrade Sharkey, General Secretary of the Australian Communist Party, declared:

I support the declaration of Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party. The task of Communists is to fight to prevent war and to educate the mass of the people in the spirit of struggle against war ideology. But if the fascists in Australia resort to force to prevent the workers achieving this aim, the Communists will tell the workers to meet force with force.

TO COMBAT THE AGGRESSOR IN EVERY WAY AND TO THE BITTER END

A resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium states:

If the servants of American imperialism ruling our country succeeded in drawing Belgium into an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, the Communists and the vast majority of the Belgian workers, would refuse to share such shame. They would fight in every way and to the bitter end against those who will expose themselves as the worst enemies of the Belgian people and of mankind.

CALL FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT IN WESTERN HEMISPHERE

At its recent meeting, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina declared that the Party would do everything to secure the victory of the Soviet Union if a third world war should break out. The Party called for an anti-imperialist front in the Western hemisphere. It also called on all citizens of Argentina to support the Congress for Peace and Democracy which will be an important step toward forming an anti-imperialist front.

THE WORKING CLASS—ORGANISER OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Addressing a recent meeting in Oslo dedicated to the cause of peace and to the memory of members of the Communist Party of Norway who gave their lives for the libera-

tion of the country, Emil Levlien, Chairman of the Communist Party, said:

"The decisive national and socialist task of the people of Norway today is to refuse to join the Atlantic Pact. It is to be feared that new aggressors will continue their economic and political occupation of our country, and that they will intensify their military plans for turning Norway into a bridgehead in preparation for their criminal aggressive war against the land of Socialism. Only a people's movement, embracing the entire country can put a stop to this harmful policy and prevent our country from being handed over to the war politicians.

"To actively resist the war policy we must form a broad united front of Norwegian people like that created during the liberation war against fascism. We must consolidate and activate the forces of peace.

"We must raise the working class to the level where it will fight for peace instead of being dragged into a criminal war policy. If we prosecute this work with vigour and singleness of purpose, we shall be fighting for those aims for which our comrades fought and died, we shall be acting in their spirit."

FORM A BROAD FRONT OF PEACE SUPPORTERS

In his report to the recent Extended Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Britain, Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the Party, stated:

Pressure must be directed to the reduction of Britain's armed forces to their former level and to end our present overseas military commitments, with the removal of British troops from Malaya, the Middle East, Greece and other areas where their presence aroused the indignation of the people against whom they have been sent.

Pressure must be equally forceful for the withdrawal of all American military forces and aircraft from Britain and the refusal to provide military bases.

The struggle for peace cannot be separated from the need to reduce the armed forces and armaments and to outlaw the atom bomb.

Moreover, it is quite clear against what countries these bellicose preparations are directed. Unquestionably, the U.S.S.R., which is not interested in war, in imperialist markets, or spheres of investments and exploitation, is a more natural ally of the British working-class movement than the aggressive imperialists of the United States.

An alliance between Britain and the Soviet Union would quite definitely make war impossible.

Pollitt stated that it was necessary to organise a broad front of peace supporters: We are so much more numerous and much stronger than the warmongers.

In another statement Pollitt declared:

If we are asked what we will do in the event of an imperialist aggressive war against the U.S.S.R., we will reply in the same way as Ernest Beyin in 1920: organise strikes and councils of action to prevent that war from being carried through.

CANADIAN WORKERS ARE AGAINST WAR

In the opinion of the Labour Progressive Party of Canada the country is not threatened with a hostile invasion, neither is there any sign of such a danger.

The Labour Progressive Party opposes and will oppose the Government proposal which, before the event, binds Canada to take part in the war the American imperialists want to start. We are fighting to prevent Canada from being drawn into war. That is why we are against Canada signing the North Atlantic military pact. That is why we insist that all United States troops must be withdrawn from Canada.

The Labour Progressive Party opposes the attempts of the imperialists to smash Socialism by war.

PEACE FORCES ARE STRONG ENOUGH TO AVERT WAR

Addressing a gathering of several thousand people held to protest against Denmark joining the North Atlantic Pact, Axel Larsen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, said:

"There is a real danger of war at present. Our peace and national independence are likewise menaced. But the danger threatens from the West, not the East. Denmark's adherence to the North Atlantic bloc would enhance the danger of war for our country and our people.

"Should war break out we shall rally the people to fight against the aggressor, irrespective of whether it will be one country, or a coalition such as the North Atlantic bloc, we shall fight together with all who will resist the aggressor."

REMOVE THE DANGER OF IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

Dionisio Ensina, General Secretary of the Mexican Communist Party, commenting on the Thorez and Togliatti declarations said that a common front would be formed in Mexico in the near future, uniting all elements who are determined to oppose any imperialist war which the United States or Britain may unleash against the U.S.S.R.

STATEMENT OF COLUMBIA COMMUNISTS

The Communist Party of Columbia declares that in the event of war "we, Communists, will stand at the side of the armies fighting against our mortal enemy—American imperialism."

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 335

MASTERING BOLSHEVISM

By JOSEPH STALIN

NOTE

This pamphlet contains the text of the report by Joseph Stalin, General Secretary, to the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on March 3, 1937, together with his concluding speech in reply to the discussion, delivered March 5, 1937.

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, 832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3,
NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1946.

2: Capitalist Encirclement

What are these facts which our Party comrades forgot, or which they simply did not notice?

They forgot that Soviet power has conquered only one-sixth of the world, that five-sixths of the world is in possession of capitalist powers. They forgot that the Soviet Union is in the conditions of capitalist encirclement. It is an accepted thing to talk loosely about capitalist encirclement, but people do not want to ponder upon what sort of thing this capitalist encirclement is.

Capitalist encirclement—that is no empty phrase; that is a very real and unpleasant feature. Capitalist encirclement means that here is one country, the Soviet Union, which has established the socialist order on its own territory and besides this there are many countries, bourgeois countries, which continue to carry on a capitalist mode of life and which surround the Soviet Union, waiting for an opportunity to attack it, break it, or at any rate to undermine its power and weaken it.

Our comrades forgot this fundamental fact. But it is that

precisely, which determines the basis of relations between the capitalist encirclement and the Soviet Union.

4. It should be remembered and never forgotten that as long as capitalist encirclement exists there will be wreckers, diversions, spies, terrorists, sent behind the frontiers of the Soviet Union by the intelligence services of foreign states; this should be remembered and a struggle should be carried on against those comrades who underestimate the significance of the fact of capitalist encirclement, who underestimate the strength and significance of wrecking.

It should be explained to our Party comrades that no economic successes whatsoever, no matter how great they are, can annul the fact of capitalist encirclement and the results arising therefrom.

On the contrary, the further forward we advance, the greater the successes we achieve, the greater will be the fury of the remnants of the broken exploiting classes, the sooner will they resort to sharper forms of struggle, the more will they seek to harm the Soviet state and the more will they clutch at the most desperate means of struggle, as the last resort of doomed people.

It should be borne in mind that the remnants of the broken classes in the U.S.S.R. are not alone. They have the direct support of our enemies beyond the bounds of the U.S.S.R. It would be a mistake to think that the sphere of the class struggle is limited to the bounds of the U.S.S.R. While one end of the class struggle has its operation within the bounds of the U.S.S.R., its other stretches to the bounds of the bourgeois states surrounding us. The remnants of the broken classes cannot but be aware of this. And precisely because they are, they will continue their desperate assaults in the future.

This is what history teaches us. This is what Leninism teaches us.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 338

October 8th, 1945

Dear Comrade:

On next Monday night, October 13th, we are holding a meeting of discussion group leaders to prepare a course of study on Principles of Communism.

If you have time re-read the Communist Manifesto before the meeting.

Comradely,

FANNY HARTMAN

(for the District Board)

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 339

5 SESSION INTRODUCTORY COURSE ON PRINCIPLES
OF COMMUNISM

Draft Outline

1. Purpose of the introductory class.

As an introductory course, these sessions can only highlight some aspects of Marxist theory. They do not, for example, treat separately such basic questions as the role of the state, the national question, the nature of fascism, etc., but refer to them under general topics. Thus the role of the state will enter into all sessions; the national question and specifically the position of the Negro people in the United States is dealt with in all of the last 4 sessions; the struggle against revisionism and Social Democracy in Sessions 3 and 5.

2. Method of Using Outline.

The outline is meant to serve only as a *guide* to instructors. It should be adapted or changed to the level of the students in the group, with particular aspects of a problem

stressed based upon the group's activities. The suggested reading list given below is for the instructors. Reading assignments for the students should be determined by the character of the group.

2. Proposed Session Topics and Reading Material.

SESSION I. MARXIST METHOD OF STUDYING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Reading Material:

- Communist Manifesto

- Engels: Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Sect. 3

- Stalin: Dialectical and Historical Materialism. pp. 34-39 or in History of CPSU

SESSION II. FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY

Reading Material:

- Marx: Value Price and Profit. Chapters VI-XI

- Leontiev: Political Economy. Chapters III and IV

SESSION III. IMPERIALISM

Reading Material:

- Lenin: Imperialism. Chapters VII-X

- Monopoly in the USA. TNEC Pamphlet

SESSION IV. SOCIALISM

Reading Material:

- Constitution of the USSR

- Stalin: Foundations of Leninism, Ch. IV.

- Fischer, Ernst: What is Socialism

- Dean of Canterbury: Soviet Power

SESSION V. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Reading Material:

- Stalin: Foundations of Leninism. Ch. VIII.

- Bittelman: Milestones in the History of the CPUSA

- Dennis, E.: America Needs the Communist Party.

- Pol. Affairs, Oct. '45

- Constitution of the CPUSA

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 343

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK

I. FORMULATION OF THE QUESTION OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN LENINISM

1. BOLSHEVIK STRATEGY AND TACTICS AS A SCIENCE OF LEADERSHIP OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

The period of the domination of the Second International was mainly the period of the formation and instruction of the proletarian armies in an environment of more or less peaceful development. This was the period when parliamentarism was the outstanding form of class struggle. Questions of great class conflicts, of preparing the proletariat for revolutionary combats, of the ways and means leading to the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat, did not seem to be on the order of the day at that time. The task reduced itself to utilizing all paths of legal development for the formation and instruction of the armies of proletarians; for the utilization of parliamentarism in conformity with the conditions under which the proletariat was (and as it seemed then, was destined to remain) in the opposition. It need hardly be pointed out that during such a period and with such a conception of the tasks of the proletariat, there could be neither complete strategy nor any elaborated tactics. There were fragmentary and detached ideas about tactics and strategy, but no tactics or strategy as such.

The mortal sin of the Second International was not that it adopted the tactic of utilizing the parliamentary forms of struggle, but that it overestimated the importance of these forms, that it considered them to be virtually the only forms; and when the period of open revolutionary combats arrived and the question of extra-parliamentary forms of struggle

came to the fore, the parties of the Second International turned their backs on these new tasks and refused to shoulder them.

Only in the subsequent period, the period of direct action by the proletariat, in the period of proletarian revolution, when the question of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie became a question of immediate practice, when the question of the reserves of the proletariat (strategy) became one of the most burning questions; when all forms of struggle and of organization, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary (tactics), assumed definite shape—only in this period could a complete strategy and detailed tactics for the struggle of the proletariat be elaborated. It was precisely in that period that Lenin dragged into the light of day the brilliant ideas of Marx and Engels on tactics and strategy, that had been immured by the opportunists of the Second International. But Lenin did not rest content with restoring certain tactical theses of Marx and Engels. He developed them further and supplemented them with new ideas and new theses, correlating them all in a system of rules and guiding principles for the leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat. Lenin's pamphlets, such as *What Is to Be Done?*; *Two Tactics*; *Imperialism*; *State and Revolution*; *The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*; "*Left-Wing*" *Communism*, etc., will doubtless be treasured as priceless contributions to the general store of Marxism and to its revolutionary arsenal. The strategy and tactics of Leninism constitute the science of leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 72-73.

3. LEADERSHIP IN A SITUATION AND CONSIDERATION FOR ITS PECULIARITIES—THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF LENINIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS

... while the working class movement is everywhere passing through what is practically a similar preparatory school for victory over the bourgeoisie, it is in each country achiev-

ing this development in *its own way*. The big, advanced capitalist countries are marching along this road *much more rapidly* than did Bolshevism, which history granted a period of fifteen years to prepare *itself* for victory as an organized political trend. The Third International has already scored a decisive victory in the short space of one year; it has defeated the yellow, social-chauvinist Second International, which only a few months ago was incomparably stronger than the Third International, and which seemed to be firm and strong, enjoying the all-round support—direct and indirect, material (ministerial posts, passports, the press) and ideological—of the world bourgeoisie.

The main thing now is that the Communists of every country should quite consciously take into account the fundamental tasks of the struggle against opportunism and "Left" doctrinaireism as well as the concrete *peculiar features* which this struggle assumes and inevitably must assume in each separate country in accordance with the peculiar features of its economics, politics, culture, national composition (Ireland, etc.), its colonies, religious divisions, etc.

As long as national and state differences exist among peoples and countries—and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale—the unity of international tactics of the communist working class movement of all countries demands, not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national differences (this is a foolish dream at the present moment), but such an application of the *fundamental* principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as will *correctly modify* these principles in *certain particulars*, will properly adapt, apply them to the national and national-state differences. To investigate, study, seek out, divine, grasp that which is specifically national in the *concrete manner* in which each country *approaches* the fulfillment of the *single* international task, the victory over opportunism and

"Left" doctrinairism in the working class movement, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of a Soviet republic and a proletarian dictatorship—this is the main task of the historical period through which all the advanced (and not only the advanced) countries are now passing. The main thing—not everything, by a long way—but the main thing has already been achieved, in that the vanguard of the working class has been won over, in that it has gone over to the side of the Soviet power against parliamentarism, to the side of the dictatorship of the proletariat against bourgeois democracy. Now all efforts, all attention, must be concentrated on the *next* step—which means, and from a certain standpoint really is, less fundamental, but which in fact is much closer to the practical carrying out of the task—namely, on seeking out the forms of *transition or approach* to the proletarian revolution.

... History generally, and the history of revolutions in particular, is always richer in content, more varied, more many-sided, more lively and "subtle" than the best parties and the most class conscious vanguards of the most advanced class imagine. This is understandable, because the best vanguards express the class consciousness, the will, the passion, the phantasy of tens of thousands, while the revolution is made, at the moment of its climax and the exertion of all human capabilities, by the class consciousness, the will, the passion, and the phantasy of tens of millions who are urged on by the very acutest class struggle. From this follow two very important practical conclusions: first, that the revolutionary class, in order to fulfill its task, must be able to master *all* forms or sides of social activity without exception (and complete after the capture of political power, sometimes at great risk and amidst very great dangers, what it did not complete before the capture of power); second, that the revolutionary class must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner.

4. INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF BOLSHEVIK STRATEGY AND TACTICS

The Bolshevik's tactics were correct; they were the *only* internationalist tactics, because they were based, not on the cowardly fear of a world revolution, not on a philistine "disbelief" in it, not on the narrow nationalist desire to protect "one's own" fatherland (the fatherland of one's bourgeoisie), and not "care a hang" for all the rest; they were based on a correct (and universally admitted, before the war and before the renegacy of the social-chauvinists and social-pacifists) *estimation* of the revolutionary situation in Europe. These tactics were the only internationalist tactics, because they did the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and stirring up of *the revolution in all countries*. The correctness of these tactics has been confirmed by the enormous success that has been achieved, because Bolshevism (owing, not to the merits of the Russian Bolsheviks, but to the most profound sympathy the *masses* everywhere displayed for tactics that are revolutionary in practice) has become *world-Bolshevism*, it has produced an idea, a theory, a program, and tactics, which differ concretely and in practice from those of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. Bolshevism has vanquished the old, decayed International of the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Renaudels and Longuets, the Hendersons and the MacDonalds, who, henceforth, will be treading on each other's heels, dreaming about "unity" and trying to revive a corpse. Bolshevism *created* the ideological and tactical foundations of a Third International, a really proletarian and Communist International, which will take into consideration both the gains of the peaceful epoch and the experience of the *epoch of revolution, which has now begun*.

Bolshevism has helped in a practical way to develop the proletarian revolution in Europe and America more power-

fully than any party in any other country has ever succeeded in doing.

Not only the European, but the world proletarian revolution is maturing before the eyes of all, and it has been assisted, has been accelerated, has been supported, by the victory of the proletariat in Russia. Is all this enough for the complete victory of socialism? Certainly not. One country cannot do more. But thanks to the Soviet government, this one country has nevertheless done so much that even if the Russian Soviet government is crushed by world imperialism tomorrow, as a result of an agreement between German and Anglo-French imperialism, for example—even in this worst possible case, Bolshevik tactics will still have brought enormous benefit to Socialism; and will have assisted the growth of the invincible world revolution.

V. I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*, pp. 71-73.

5. DEPENDENCE OF STRATEGY ON THE PARTY PROGRAM

A. Two Aspects of the Working Class Movement

Political strategy, like tactics, is concerned with the working class movement. But the working class movement itself consists of two elements: the objective, or spontaneous element and the subjective, or conscious element. The objective, or spontaneous element is made up of the group of processes that take place irrespective of the consciousness and regulating will of the proletariat. The economic development of the country, the development of capitalism, the disintegration of the old government, the spontaneous movements of the proletariat and the classes surrounding it, the collision of classes, and so forth—all these are phenomena, the development of which proceeds irrespective of the will of the proletariat. This is the objective aspect of the movement. Strategy is not concerned with these processes, because, it can neither stop them nor modify them; all that it can do is to reckon with them and to base itself on them. This is

a field to be dealt with by the theory of Marxism and the program of Marxism.

But the movement has also a subjective, a conscious side. The subjective side of the movement consists in the reflection in the minds of the workers of the spontaneous processes of the movement; it is the conscious and deliberate movement of the proletariat towards a definite goal. This aspect of the movement interests us because, as distinct from the objective aspect of the movement, it is entirely subject to the directing influence of strategy and tactics. While strategy is unable to produce any change in the operation of the objective processes of the movement, here, on the other hand, in the subjective sphere, in relation to the conscious aspect of the movement, the field of application of strategy is broad and varied, because strategy can accelerate or retard the movement, direct it along the shortest path or divert it into a more difficult and painful path, depending on the perfections or shortcomings of strategy itself.

Accelerating or retarding the movement, facilitating or hindering it, such is the field and the limits within which political strategy and tactics can be applied.

B. The Theory and Program of Marxism

Strategy is not concerned with the actual study of the objective processes of the movement. Nevertheless, it must know them and take due account of them if gross and fatal errors are not to be committed in the leadership of the movement. It is the theory of Marxism primarily and also the program of Marxism that are concerned with the study of the objective processes of the movement. Strategy, therefore, must base itself entirely on the data provided by the theory and program of Marxism.

From a study of the objective processes of capitalism in their development and decline, the theory of Marxism arrives at the conclusion that the fall of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power by the proletariat, and the replacement of capitalism by socialism, are inevitable. Proletarian strat-

egy may be considered truly Marxist only when it makes this fundamental conclusion of the theory of Marxism the basis of its operations.

1. STRATEGY

A. *Strategy in the Various Stages of the Revolution*

Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution; the elaboration of a corresponding plan of disposition of the revolutionary forces (the main and secondary reserves); the struggle to carry out this plan during the whole period of the given stage of the revolution.

Our revolution had already passed through two stages and, after the October Revolution, entered upon a third stage. Our strategy was changed accordingly.

First stage, 1903 to February 1917. Aim: to overthrow tsarism and completely liquidate the survivals of medievalism. The main force of the revolution: the proletariat. Immediate reserve: the peasantry. Direction of the main blow: the isolation of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie which was striving to win over the peasantry and liquidate the revolution by *compromising* with tsarism. Plan for the disposition of forces: alliance of the working class with the peasantry. "The proletariat must carry out to the end the democratic revolution, and in this unite to itself the masses of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. III, p. 93.)

Second stage, March 1917, to October 1917. Aim: to overthrow imperialism in Russia and to withdraw from the imperialist war. The main force of the revolution: the proletariat. Immediate reserve: the poorest peasantry. Probable reserve: the proletariat of neighboring countries. Favorable circumstances: the protracted war and the crisis of imperialism. Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty-

bourgeois democrats (Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries) who were striving to win over the toiling peasantry and put an end to the revolution by *compromising* with imperialism. Plan for the disposition of the forces: alliance of the proletariat with the poorest peasantry. "The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution and in this unite to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the instability of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie." (*Ibid.*)

Third stage, commenced after the October Revolution. Aim: consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a stronghold for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries. The revolution goes beyond the confines of one country and the period of world revolution commences. The main forces of the revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries. Main reserves: the semi-proletarian and small peasant masses in the advanced countries and the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries. Direction of the main blow: the isolation of the petty-bourgeois democrats and the isolation of the parties of the Second International which constitute the main support of the policy of *compromise* with imperialism. Plan for the disposition of forces: alliance of the proletarian revolution with the liberation movement of the colonies and the dependent countries.

Strategy deals with the main forces of the revolution and their reserves. It changes with the transition of the revolution from one stage to another, but remains essentially unchanged throughout the entire duration of a given stage.

Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 74-75.

2. TACTICS—A DOCTRINE OF THE FORMS OF WORKING CLASS STRUGGLES

A. *Tactics in Connection with the Ebb and Flow of the Revolution*

Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct of the proletariat for the comparatively short period of the ebb or flow of the movement, of the rise or decline of the revolution, the struggle to carry out this line by replacing old forms of struggle and of organization by new ones, old slogans by new ones, by combining these forms, etc. While the aim of strategy is to win the war, let us say against tsarism or against the bourgeoisie, to carry the struggle against tsarism or against the bourgeoisie to its end, tactics concern themselves with less important aims, as they strive, not to win the war as a whole, but rather to win a particular engagement, or a particular battle; to carry through successfully a particular campaign or action corresponding to the concrete circumstances of the rise or decline of the revolution. Tactics are a part of strategy, subordinate and subservient to it.

Tactics change according to ebb and flow. While during the first stage of the revolution (1903 to February 1917), the strategic plan remained unchanged; tactics changed several times during that period. From 1903 to 1905 the Party pursued offensive tactics because the tide of the revolution was flowing, the movement rose and tactics had to be based on this fact.

Accordingly, the forms of struggle were revolutionary in compliance with the requirements of the flowing tide of the revolution. Local political strikes, political demonstrations, the general political strike, the boycott of the Duma, insurrection, revolutionary fighting slogans—such were the successive changes which the struggle underwent during that period. These changes in the forms of struggle were accompanied by corresponding changes in the forms of organization. Factory and shop committees, revolutionary peasant committees, strike committees, soviets of workers' deputies,

a workers' party operating more or less openly—such were the forms of organization during that period.

In the period from 1907 to 1912 the Party was compelled to resort to tactics of retreat, as we then experienced a decline in the revolutionary movement, the tide of the revolution was at an ebb, and tactics necessarily had to take this fact into consideration. The forms of struggle as well as the forms of organization were correspondingly changed: in place of the boycott of the Duma, there was participation in the Duma; in place of open, direct revolutionary action outside of the Duma there were parliamentary speeches and work in the Duma; in place of general political strikes, there were partial economic strikes, or simply a lull in activities. Of course, the Party had to go underground during that period, while cultural, educational, cooperative, insurance and other organizations permitted by the law took the place of revolutionary mass organizations.

The same must be said of the second and third stages of the revolution during which tactics changed dozens of times whereas the strategic plans remained unchanged.

Tactics deal with the forms of struggle and the forms of organization of the proletariat, with their changes and correlations. Tactics may have to be changed several times in the period of a given stage of the revolution according to the flow and ebb, the rise and fall of the revolution.

Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 75-76.

V. PRINCIPAL TASKS OF THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMINTERN

1. The Fight to Win the Majority of the Working Class and Gain for It the Hegemony Over the Toiling Masses

The successful struggle of the Communist International the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes the existence in every country of a compact Communist Party, hardened in the struggle, disciplined, centralized, and closely linked up with the masses.

The Party is the vanguard of the working class, and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active and most courageous members. It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the Party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organization, bound by iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism, which can be carried out owing to the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain inseparable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership which is constantly verified and clarified by the experiences of the masses themselves.

D. For Soviet Power!

In the struggle to defend against fascism the bourgeois-democratic liberties and the gains of the toilers, in the struggle to overthrow fascist dictatorship, the revolutionary proletariat prepares its forces, strengthens its fighting contacts with its allies and directs the struggle toward the goal of achieving real democracy of the toilers—Soviet power.

The further consolidation of the Land of the Soviets, the rallying of the world proletariat around it, and the mighty growth of the international authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the turn toward revolutionary class struggle which has set in among the Social-Democratic workers and the workers organized in the reformist trade unions, the increasing mass resistance to fascism and the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the decline of the Second International and the growth of the Communist International, *are all accelerating and will con-*

tinue to accelerate the development of the world Socialist revolution.

B. *From the Struggle for Peace to the Struggle for Revolution*

At the present historical juncture, when on one-sixth part of the globe the Soviet Union defends Socialism and peace for all humanity, the most vital interests of the workers and toilers of all countries demand that in pursuing the policy of the working class, in waging the struggle for peace, the struggle against imperialist war before and after the outbreak of hostilities, the defense of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount.

If the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war forces the Soviet Union to set the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in motion for the defense of Socialism, the Communists will call upon all toilers *to work, with all their means at their disposal and at any price, for the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists.*

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 344

RESOLUTION OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU
CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN THE
C. P. OF YUGOSLAVIA*

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION

1. The Information Bureau notes that recently the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has pursued an

* Reprinted from *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Bucharest, No. 16, July 1, 1948.

incorrect line on the main questions of home and foreign policy, a line which represents a departure from Marxism-Leninism.

2. The Information Bureau declares that the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party is pursuing an unfriendly policy toward the Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U.(B.).

The Information Bureau denounces this anti-Soviet attitude of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as being incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and only appropriate to nationalists.

The Yugoslav leaders are pursuing an incorrect policy in the countryside by ignoring the class differentiation in the countryside and by regarding the individual peasantry as a single entity, contrary to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of classes and class struggle, contrary to the well-known Lenin thesis that small, individual farming gives birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie continually, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.

Concerning the leading role of the working class, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, by affirming that the peasantry is the "most stable foundation of the Yugoslav state" are departing from the Marxist-Leninist path and are taking the path of a populist, kulak party. Lenin taught that the proletariat is the "only class in contemporary society which is revolutionary to the end . . . must be the leader in the struggle of the entire people for a thorough democratic transformation, in the struggle of all working people and the exploited against the oppressors and exploiters."

The Yugoslav leaders are violating this thesis of Marxism-Leninism.

4. The Information Bureau considers that the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is revising the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the Party. According to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Party is the main, guiding and leading force in the country, which has its own, specific program, and does not dissolve itself among the non-Party masses. The Party is the highest form of organization and the most important weapon of the working class.

6. The Information Bureau considers that the criticism made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B.) and Central Committees of the other Communist Parties of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and who in this way rendered fraternal assistance to the Yugoslav Communist Party, provides the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with all the conditions necessary to speedily correct the mistakes committed.

The refusal of the Yugoslav Party to report to the Information Bureau on its actions and to listen to criticism by other Communist Parties means, in practice, a violation of the equality of the Communist Parties and is, in fact, tantamount to a demand for a privileged position for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Information Bureau.

The Information Bureau unanimously concludes that by their anti-Party and anti-Soviet views, incompatible with Marxism-Leninism, by their whole attitude and their refusal to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have placed themselves in opposition to the Communist Parties affiliated

to the Information Bureau, have taken the path of seceding from the united socialist front against imperialism, have taken the path of betraying the cause of international solidarity of the working people, and have taken up a position of nationalism.

The Information Bureau condemns this anti-Party policy and attitude of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau considers that, in view of all this, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has placed itself and the Yugoslav Party outside the family of the fraternal Communist Parties, outside the united Communist front and consequently outside the ranks of the Information Bureau.

The Information Bureau considers that the basis of these mistakes made by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia lies in the undoubted fact that nationalist elements, which previously existed in a disguised form, managed in the course of the past five or six months to reach a dominant position in the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and, that consequently, the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party has broken with the international traditions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and has taken the road of nationalism.

The Information Bureau does not doubt that inside the Communist Party of Yugoslavia there are sufficient healthy elements, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the international traditions of the Yugoslav Communist Party and to the united socialist front.

Their task is to compel their present leaders to recognize their mistakes openly and honestly and to rectify them; to break with nationalism, return to internationalism; and in every way to consolidate the united socialist front against imperialism.

Should the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party prove to be incapable of doing this, their job is to replace them and to advance a new internationalist leadership of the Party.

The Information Bureau does not doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will be able to fulfill this honorable task.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 346

OUTLINE FOR NINE-DAY SCHOOL

SATURDAY—1. INTRODUCTION—IMPORTANCE OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY. Need to Struggle for Correct Theory and Line.

Reading material: FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM—Chapt. III.

SUNDAY—2. POLITICAL ECONOMY—CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION—CRISES.

Reading material: Communist Manifesto. Value Price & Profit, Chapt. VI, VII, VIII. Socialism; Utop. & Scient.—Chapt. III. War Economy and Econ. Crisis (WORKER, July 4).

MONDAY—3. IMPERIALISM—WAR—FASCISM—STRUGGLE FOR PEACE.

Reading material: Imperialism—Chapt. VII. United Front Against Fasc.—1st Chapt. Draft Resolution.

TUESDAY—4. PEOPLE'S COALITION AND THE NEW PARTY.

Reading material: Third Party & 1948 Elections—Dennis Draft Resolution.

WEDNESDAY—5. TRADE UNION PROBLEMS—ECONOMISM—OPPORTUNISM.

Reading material: What Is To Be Done, Chapt. II, III, IV. History CPSU, Capt. II, Sec. 1 and 2. Convention Discussion—Lessons of Steel. Elections (WORKER, Sund. July 18). Political Affairs—June—J. W. article. Draft Resolution.

THURSDAY—6. NEGRO QUESTION.

Reading material: Path of Negro Liberation—Ben Davis. Communist Position on the Negro Ques. Resolution of the National Com. of CP.

FRIDAY—7. THE COMMUNIST PARTY—FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION.

Reading Material: Foundations of Leninism—Chapt. VIII. History of CPSU, Chapt. II, Sect. 3-4. For Lasting Peace—June 15 issue. Communist Party and You—Betty Gannett.

SATURDAY—8. THE STATE—BOURGEOIS STATE—PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP—NEW PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES EUROPE, CHINA.

Reading Material: State and Revolution, Chapt. I. Foundations of Leninism, Chapt. IV. Cominform Statement on Yugoslavia.

SUNDAY—9. PRESENT TASKS OF THE PARTY—SUMMARY.

Reading Material: Draft Resolution. Resolutions Ohio Convention C.P.

In order to achieve a maximum concreteness of discussion around each subject, specific sections of the Draft Resolution should be read and applied to the subject matter. Much valuable material is also provided in the Pre-Convention Discussion Supplement of the Worker, especially discussion articles on Party, Press, Crisis, Experiences in Steel, etc. This will help to relate our Marxist theory to the problems and tasks of the present period.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 348

**RUTHENBERG PARTY BUILDING DRIVE
BULLETIN No. 1**

MARCH 4, 1947

This plan for Party building shall be considered part of our recently adopted County Plan of work. Its success will depend upon the extent to which our County Plan, which is based upon the decisions of our recent National Committee meeting, is carried out. **READ AND DISCUSS THIS IN YOUR SECTION AND CLUB AND MAKE YOUR PLANS ACCORDINGLY.**

However, the difficulty of a task (and we are now entering a period when difficulties will steadily increase) can never be the criterion of work for a Communist Party. It is in *boldly, realistically* facing and solving difficult problems that a Party not only grows numerically, but in its Bolshevik character.

I. WHY WE MUST

It is not only that we *need more* members so that we can do more to build the democratic coalition to defeat the all-out offensive of reaction by organizing the counter-offensive of the people led by a unitedly fighting labor. That, of course, is the central task facing our Party, our class, our nation today.

It is that above all—to prevent reaction from disorganizing, dividing and demoralizing labor and the democratic forces in our country—our Party must place itself in a position to *effectively* play the role of a vanguard.

Reaction is feverishly attempting to separate and isolate our Party from the people of America in order to behead labor and the democratic forces. In order to accomplish this, it is attempting to whip up the most rabid red-baiting hysteria. **DEFEND THE PARTY BY BUILDING THE PARTY.**

II. WHY WE CAN

2) *International situation*

The democratic trend throughout the world, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, is and will continue to exert a deep influence upon our country, especially amongst the nationality groups.

III. HOW WE CAN

1) *Political Mobilization means convincing!* The essence of our drive must be the political mobilization of our entire membership, not only to initiate it (as is usual), but throughout the drive. The essence of political mobilization is *convincing*, answering the questions in the minds of our members, arming them *ideologically*.

STRUGGLE IS THE KEY, BUT A KEY DOES NOT UNLOCK BY ITSELF! As was pointed out, the success of our Party Building Drive will be determined by the extent to which we carry out our County Plan, develop and participate in the struggles and broad movements that will weld the democratic coalition.

However, our past is rich in examples of militant mass victorious struggles, during which we were "too busy" to recruit. THE MOST IMPORTANT GAIN THAT THE WORKING CLASS CAN ACHIEVE—IS THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY.

2. *Composition*

C.I.O.

To recruit a minimum of 60 steel workers (of which 10 in Amer. Steel, 10 J. & L., 20 Rep.)

To recruit 60 auto workers (10 Midl., 5 Diesel, 10 White, 15 Fisher)

To recruit 60 electrical, of which 10 West., 10 GE, 5 Rel., 10 UE735, 5 White Sewing

To recruit 50 Aluminum (of which 30 USAlum., 10 Natl. Smelt.)

To recruit 10 Maritime workers

To recruit 15 White Collar and Professional

A. F. L.

To recruit a minimum of 140 A. F. L. workers

Foundry Molders	30	Food & Hotel	8
Machinists	25	Transit	15
Needle	15	Carp.-Painters	15
Teachers	8	Teamsters	8
Pullman	5	Maritime	5
White Collar and Government			10

Youth and Veterans

To be one-third of total recruits.

Youth Commission to be specifically responsible to bring in 35.

Negro

To be 40% of total recruits.

PARTY BUILDING IS CLUB BUILDING!

STRENGTHEN YOUR CLUB—BUILD NEW CLUBS!

3. *New Clubs to be Set Up*

A. F. L.

National Malleable
(Cedar-Central)

Superior Foundry (S.E.
and AFL Section)

Molders-Foundry (AFL
Sec.)

Teachers (Professional)

Transit (AFL Section)

Stone Knitting Mill
(Needle and AFL Sec.)

Carpenters (W.S. and
AFL Section)

Teamsters (County and AFL Section)

Chase Brass

C. I. O.

Weatherhead (Glenville)

Diesel (West Side)

Amer. Steel & Wire (Steel
Club)

White Sewing

Neighborhood Clubs

Miles Heights

Bedford

Lakewood

Ward 10

V. HOW TO ORGANIZE THE DRIVE

Meetings

1) *City-wide membership meeting*, FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 7:30 P.M. EAST SIDE HUNGARIAN HOME, 11123 Buckeye Rd.

Mobilize for it like a Public Auditorium rally. Soviet movie—cultural program—admission by ticket.

Letter or phone call to every member.

Present a recruiter's kit to every one at meeting containing application cards, pamphlets, sub blanks, etc.

2) *Industry meetings*—organize during month of March. Following to be responsible for calling specific industry meetings and directing the drive.

Steel—Ed & Mike

Alum.—Hy

A.F.L.—Jake

Auto—Gus

Electr.—Fred

R.R.—Betty

3) *Nationality meetings*—Organize during month of March. Following to be responsible for calling meeting and directing drive in specific nationality groups. Minimum recruiting goals for each particular nationality group to be set.

Czech, Slovak, Polish: Helen K. Objective—25 Czechs and Slovaks, 10 Poles.

Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian: Jack. Recruit 50.

Hungarian: Greenie & Hung. Club leader: Recruit 20.

Jewish: Abe S. Recruit 30.

Suggestions

a) Recruit from language readers

b) Special appeal to youth

c) Organize Party meeting of sympathizers

d) Leaflets in particular language

* *House Parties*—Organize 125 house parties. Use list of house parties held during last elections.

Southeast, 25; Glenville, 30; West Side, 15; Collinwood, 10; Cedar-Central, 15; Professional, 10; Bdwy-Steel, 10; A. F. L., 10.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 349

RECOMMENDATIONS OF NOMINATING
COMMITTEE

STATE

Arnold Johnson, State President; Jack Kling, Communist Leader; Adeline Kohl, State Secretary.

CLEVELAND

H. Becker, R.R.; Pete Chaunt, Nationality leader; Ray Dennis, Negro leader, Mine Mill; Eugene Duchan, Jewish Work; Betty Erhart, Youth leader; Leo Fenster, leader UAW; Ben Gray, Shop worker, St. Member. Dired.; Elizabeth Hall, Steel Worker; Frank Hashmall, Youth Leader; Fred Hall, U.E. Leader; Al. Jones, AFL Union Leader; Frieda Katz, Pres. Ward 30 Club; A. Kilpatrick, Negro Leader, Mine Mill; Joe Kelly, CIO Leader; H. Larkin, Shop Worker, AFL union leader; Abe Lewis, Negro Leader; Hy Lewis, instructor—AFT; Daisy Lolich, Nationality Leader; B. Mack, AFL union leader; Pete Margetich, Shop Worker, Croatian Ld.; Marie Rice, U.E. leader; Betty Riley, Worker Correspondent; Wendell Ringholtz, Gas, Coke & Chem.; Oscar Rucker, Negro leader, U.E. sh. work; Rose Schneider, Pres. Glenville Club; Esther Schweitzer, Charter Mem. CP, ILGW; Flora Wall, State Lit. Director; Max Wall, State Worker Director.

AKRON

Karl Carrigan, Rubber Worker; D. Clyde, Rubber Worker; Saw Easley, Rubber Worker, Negro leader; Joe Friedman, Akron President; Thelma Furry, Akron Secretary; George L., Rubber Worker; Tom L., Rubber Worker; Amos Murphy, V.P. Akron C.P.

CANTON

Paul Bohus, Steel Worker; Russ Reemsnyder, Canton Secretary.

CINCINNATI

Max Smith, CIO leader.

YOUNGSTOWN & WARREN

Mike Babinchak, Steel Worker, Co. Pres.; John Beskid, Leading U.E. worker; Bud Erhart, former Sec. Org., on sick lv.; Mary Hawk, Negro Leader; Tommy Miller, leading Steel Worker; Tommy West, leading Steel Worker.

OHIO VALLEY

Joe Green, Coal Miner, U.M.W.A.; A. Kirchmarek, C.P. organizer; C. H. Palmer, leading Steel Worker.

TOLEDO

Bill Cummings, Negro Auto Worker, City Secretary; Francis Murphy; Auto Worker; Gene Stoll, Acting City President.

DAYTON

K. Ball, CIO Union Leader; Clara Furing, Union and C.P. leader.

COLUMBUS

Lucille Blecher, Student Leader; Anne Brown, CIO union leader; LaVerne Slagle, City President; Harley Waite. UAW leader; Jerome Woodward, Negro UAW leader.

YELLOW SPRINGS

Ruth Sanders, Student.

ON LEAVE—IN SERVICE

Ben, Atkins, Joe Brandt, Ed Chaka, Mike Davidow, Elmer Fehlhaber, Gus Hall, Joe Sokol, Sig Wenger.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 350

July 28, 1947

Communist Party of Ohio,
2056 E. 4th St.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Gentlemen:

I hereby wish to submit my resignation to the Communist
Party effective August 1, 1947.

Yours truly,

John V. Bland

Sent by mail 7/28/47

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 353

**COMMUNIST PARTY DUES
COLLECTION RECORD**

63042—1

—2

—3

63112—4

—5

—6

—7

—8

Auto-lite CP.

Shop Bill Joe Sokol

1948—CP Nos.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 361*Daily Worker, January 17, 1950*

JOHN LAUTNER EXPELLED BY CP AS A TRAITOR

The National Review Commission of the Communist Party
has been conducting an investigation to determine how the

FBI agents exposed in the Foley Square trial penetrated and functioned in the ranks of the Party.

In the course of its examination, the Review Commission ascertained that several months ago John Lautner, a member of the New York State Review Commission, was instrumental in preventing the expulsion of the spy, Calomiris, and that he had also recommended a number of untrustworthy individuals for work in the Defense Office during the period of the trial.

Further investigation revealed that Lautner himself is an enemy agent of long standing. A full disclosure will be made at the proper time.

In view of the already established facts, the National Review Commission approves the recommendation of the subcommittee which examined the case of John Lautner and hereby expels him from the Communist Party as a traitor and enemy of the working class.

The Review Commission calls upon the Party leadership and membership to heighten their Communist vigilance and to redouble their efforts to safeguard and strengthen the Party.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 362

For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy
February 3, 1950

• • • • •
**ROOTING OUT TRAITORS FROM THE RANKS OF
 THE COMMUNIST PARTIES**

The New York "Daily Worker" reports that a special commission of the Communist Party of the United States has expelled from its ranks John Lowther who has been exposed as a traitor. The commission has called upon the leadership and members of the Party to display increased Communist vigilance. The commission continues the "Daily Worker", carried out its investigation with the aim of dis-

covering by what means the F.B.I. agents, exposed during the trial of the eleven Party leaders at Foley Square, succeeded in penetrating into the Party and in carrying on their activities there. It established that Lowther was an old enemy agent.

"Unita", organ of the Italian Communist Party, has published a photo of Pellegata Fernando, expelled from the Milan Federation of the Party for treachery.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 363

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

MAY 1950

FOR COMMUNIST VIGILANCE*

By Gilbert Green

* Report to the Plenum on the Need for Strengthening Communist Vigilance.

Our whole Party has not yet drawn the full lessons from the experience at the Foley Square trial, from certain incidents since the trial, particularly from the valuable experience of the world Communist movement in the past few years. These prove, beyond a doubt, that the ruling class of this country is assiduously cultivating every known stool-pigeon and agent-provocateur method of the past, and adding a few new ones, in its attempt to infiltrate and disrupt the world Communist movement from within.

○ SOURCE OF LACK OF VIGILANCE

What explains this tolerance, this softness, this rotten liberalism and lack of vigilance? It can be explained only

in one way—the reflection of opportunism in the thinking and work of the Party and in the first place the leadership.

• • • • •

THE NEED FOR BOLSHEVIK CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

For this reason the European parties have tied up the struggle for revolutionary vigilance with the struggle for Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism and for inner-Party democracy. We must understand that criticism and self-criticism is not just another feature of Communist organization; *it is the law of development of Communist parties.*

Here is how a recent issue of *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!*, deals with this subject in its leading editorial:

Criticism and self-criticism is that revolutionary weapon, that tried method, by means of which the Marxist Parties ruthlessly expel from their ranks all that is alien, all that is bourgeois, which still persists in their ranks.

Criticism and self-criticism is inherent only in the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Parties. The Communist Parties are distinguished from the reformist, Social-Democratic and Right-wing Socialist Parties in that they never evade painful questions, never hush them up, nor do they slur over them, but always openly, profoundly and as a matter of principle, reveal and criticize their mistakes, drawing fresh strength from criticism and self-criticism, and renewed energy for improving their work and for ensuring their development.

• • • • •

And Comrade G. Malenkov, writing on the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Comrade Stalin, deals with the Stalinist-Bolshevik tradition of leadership. He writes:

Comrade Stalin teaches that it is necessary to wage a merciless struggle against instances of the suppression and persecution of self-criticism. To persecute self-criticism, says Comrade Stalin, means to kill all independent activity in the Party organization, to undermine the authority of

its leadership among the Party masses, to cause the Party to disintegrate, and to establish in the life of the Party organization the anti-Party customs of the bureaucrats—the mortal enemies of the Party.

And further Comrade Malenkov writes:

Comrade Stalin constantly warns of the fact that it is not vanity, but modesty that becomes the Bolshevik, that any leader, irrespective of the post he occupies, is a servant of the people. The unbroken tie between the leaders and the masses, willingness to learn from the masses, to correct the shortcomings which the workers point out—this is the tradition of Bolshevik leadership. (*Pravda*, December 21, 1949, in *Soviet Press Translations*.)

THE IMMEDIATE TASKS

3. We must raise the ideological-political Marxist-Leninist level of understanding of our whole Party and especially of our cadres. We must fight stubbornly for our working-class ideology, for the line of the Party. We must eradicate all manifestations of white chauvinism in our ranks, and also of Negro bourgeois nationalism. We must also intensify our struggle for proletarian internationalism, the most important aspect of which is a many-sided and continuous exposure of the lies and slanders directed against the first land of Socialism, the Soviet Union.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 367

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

FEBRUARY, 1948

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIKS)*

By Georgi M. Malenkov

[Reprinted from *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties in Belgrade, No. 2, December 1, 1947.]

* Informative report to the Conference of representatives of a number of Communist Parties held in Poland at the close of September, 1947.

The C.P.S.U. (B.) devotes much attention to problems of foreign policy and shows special concern for the selection and proper training of cadres capable of putting into effect the Party's line in the sphere of foreign policy..

The Party devotes much attention to equipping its cadres with the knowledge of the laws of international development, with an understanding of the international situation. It teaches them to defend the interests of the Socialist state on the international scene, to distinguish between friend and foe, to detect the insidious designs and methods of the imperialists and their agents.

The absence of contact between Communist Parties is a hindrance in coordinating the actions of Communists in various countries in their resistance to the plans of the imperialists, particularly now, when American monopoly capital is organizing an offensive against Communism and democracy, against the U.S.S.R. and the new democracies, developing its expansionist plans with the intention, under the guise of "aid," of enslaving a number of European and other countries, and when Communists are called upon to

define their attitude to these plans of American imperialism.

In our opinion it is necessary to put into effect definite measures designed to eliminate the present abnormal situation in this respect.

That is why we consider it necessary to discuss at the present conference both the international situation and the question of improving contact between Communist Parties, of establishing regular connections between them with a view to achieving mutual understanding, exchange of experience and voluntary coordination of activities of the Communist Parties whenever they consider this necessary.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 369

CURRICULUM FOR 6 DAY SUMMER TRAINING SCHOOL

Monday

Introduction—From Free Competition to Monopoly

July 7th

July 14th

1. Imperialism—the Final Stage of Capitalism

July 21st

July 28th

a) Characteristics of Imperialism

Aug. 4th

b) Development of Monopoly in the USA

Aug. 11th

Aug. 18th

c) Development of Finance Capital in USA

d) Monopoly and the Struggle against Revisionism.

Tuesday

2. The Role of American Imperialism Today—Truman Doctrine

a) Objectives of the Doctrine at Home.

b) Objectives of the Doctrine Abroad—Marshall Plan—cover up for Truman Doctrine.

Wednesday

3. Impending Crisis—Economic outlook.

a) Mass Unemployment as an Inevitable Feature under Capitalist Production.

- b) Cyclical Economic Crisis are Inevitable under Capitalism
- c) Crisis in the Epoch of Imperialism
- d) Economic Outlook and Tasks of the Party—Based on Plenum Reports.

Thursday

4. Negro Question

Friday

5. Strategy and Tactics.

- a) Strategic Aims and the Party and Tactics
Struggles for Peace—Coalition and Third Party
Movement—(Based on Plenum Reports)

Saturday

6. The Party—Theory and Organization. (Based on Plenum Reports)

P.S. Same material in Spanish on August 4th.

NEW YORK COUNTY 6 DAY SCHOOLS Bibliography

1. Lenin—Imperialism
2. Stalin—Foundations of Leninism
3. Rochester—The Nature of Capitalism
4. Foster-Williamson—Marxism Leninism vs. Revisionism
5. History of the C.P.S.U.
6. Marx and Engels—The Communist Manifesto
7. Engels—Socialism Utopian and Scientific
8. Davis—The Path of Negro Liberation
9. Dimitrov—Report to 7th World Congress of C.I.
10. Lenin and Stalin—Marxism and Revisionism
11. Dennis—People Against the Trusts
12. Foster—The New Europe
13. Constitution C.P.U.S.A.
14. Political Affairs, 1947
February—Resolution on Negro Question & Thompson
March—Lu Ting Yi

May—Bittelman
 June—Kardelj
 July—Allen

P.S. Check your literature. What you don't have will be made available at the first session.
 uopwa/16-128

6 DAY SCHOOLS—N. Y. COUNTY
 Daily Reading

Monday—Required

1. Lenin's Imperialism
 Ch. I—first 2 pages
 Ch. VII—first 2 pages
 Ch. VIII—all
 Ch. IX—all
 Ch. X—first 5 pages
2. Foster—Marxism Leninism vs. Revisionism—
 pp. 36-44

Additional

1. Rochester—Nature of Capitalism—Ch. VIII
2. Stalin—Foundations of Leninism—Introduction—
 Ch. I—first 2 pages

Tuesday—Required

1. History CPSU—Ch. VI Sect. III—first 3 pages
2. Political Affairs—June—article by Kardelj
3. Foster—The New Europe—Ch. XIII and XV

Additional

1. Political Affairs—July—article by James Allen
2. Political Affairs—March—article by Lu Ting Yi

Wednesday—Required

1. Marx and Engels—Communist Manifesto—top page
 12\—middle page 13
2. Engels—Socialism Utopian and Scientific—pp. 36-37
3. Political Affairs—May—article by Bittelman

Additional

1. Mimeographed booklet on Crisis

Thursday—Required

1. Political Affairs—February—Resolution on Negro Question—article by Thompson
2. Davis—Path of Negro Liberation

Additional

1. Mimeographed material—Question and Answers

Friday—Required

1. Stalin—Foundations of Leninism—Ch. VII
2. Dimitrov—Report to 7th Congress—mimeo extracts
3. June, 1947—Plenum material

Additional

1. Lenin and Stalin—Marxism and Revisionism—Ch. II
2. Anna Louise Strong—The Thoughts of Mao Tse Tung

Saturday—Required

1. Stalin—Foundations of Leninism—Ch. VIII
2. Foster—The New Europe—Ch. V
3. Party Constitution CPUSA

Additional

1. Williamson's article—Marxism Leninism v. Revisionism
 2. History CPSU—conclusion
- uopwa/16-128

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 370

OUTLINE ON FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM

ISSUED BY

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

35 EAST 12TH ST., N.Y.C.

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LESSON I

INTRODUCTION—MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

I. The Importance of Marxist-Leninist Theory

A. "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement . . ."

Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*

"Theory is the experience of the labour movement in all countries taken, in its general form. Of course theory becomes immaterial if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory. But theory can become the greatest force in the labor movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice, for it, and it alone, can give to the movement confidence, the power of orientation and an understanding of the inner connection between events; for it, and it alone, can help us in our practical work to discern how and in which direction classes are moving not only at the present time, but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future."

Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*

"The role of the vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by an advanced theory."

Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*

Reading:

Communist Manifesto—Chapter 1

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific—(Engels)—Chapters I and II

History of the CPSU—Middle of page 114 to bottom of page 126

Foundations of Leninism—(Stalin)—Introduction

The Struggle Against Revisionism—(Foster)—Part 1, September *Political Affairs*

Additional Reading:

Lenin—*Karl Marx*

Lenin—*Marxism and Revisionism*

Lenin—*Differences in the European Labour Movement*

Lenin—*Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism*

(These four references may be found either in Vol. XI, *Selected Works* or in Marx-Engels—*Marxism*)

Lenin—*What Is To Be Done?* Chapter II, Sections A & B
Chapter III, Sections A, B, E

LESSON II

THE GENERAL FEATURES OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Reading:

Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Ch. III

Marx, *Value Price and Profit*, Chs. VI, VII, VIII, IX, XIII and XIV

Communist Manifesto, Ch. I

National Convention Resolution on the Present Situation and the Next Tasks, Part I, Section 4

Foster, *The Menace of American Imperialism*, pp. 9-12

Additional Reading:

- Leontiev, *Political Economy*, Chapters I through VIII
 Dennis, Report to National Committee, Section on Economic Perspectives and Markets
 Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*
 Lenin, *Karl Marx*, Sections on Marx's Economic Doctrine and on Socialism

LESSON III

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

III. The Development of the Class Struggle

B. Role of the trade unions.

1) Struggles for immediate economic interests of the workers

2) "Schools for Communism"

3) Limitations of the trade unions—"trade union politics" are not the same as Communist politics.

—"Trade unionism does not always exclude 'politics' altogether; as some imagine. Trade Unions have always conducted political (but not Social Democratic—i.e. Communist) agitation and struggle."

—"However much we may try to give to the economic struggle itself a political character, we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers (to the degree of Social-Democratic, i.e. Communist consciousness) by confining ourselves to the economic struggle, for the limits of this task are too narrow."

Lenin, *What Is To Be Done*

IV. Mistakes of the American Communist Party in the Recent Period in Connection with the Foregoing

Reading

Stalin—Wells Interview

Communist Manifesto—Ch. IILenin, *Karl Marx*—Section on the Class Struggle (In Marx-Engels Marxism)Lenin, *Left Wing Communism*—Ch. VI.*Additional Reading*Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*—Ch. II, and Ch. III—A, C, D, E, F*History of the C.P.S.U.*—Ch. II, Sections 1 and 2

LESSON IV

THE STATE

III. The State Following the Socialist Revolution

A. The "dictatorship of the proletariat is the state during the transition period between capitalism and socialism."

1) The historic role of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the destruction of capitalism and the organization of socialism.

2) The dictatorship of the proletariat is a *new type* of state, a new type of democracy.

—"The working class cannot simply take possession of the ready-made state machine and use it for its own purposes."

Marx, *The Civil War in France*

—"What is required is 'the shattering of the former state power' and its replacement by a new and really democratic state..."

Engels, *Introduction to the Civil War in France*—"the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be 'complete' democracy, a democracy for *all*, for rich and poor alike; the dictatorship of the proletariat 'must be a state

that is democratic in a new way—against the bourgeoisie' (State and Revolution, Lenin)

"Democracy under the capitalist system is a capitalist democracy, the democracy of an exploiting minority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploited majority and directed against this majority . . . Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy is proletarian democracy—the democracy of the exploited majority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against this minority."

Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I

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Reading

Lenin, *State and Revolution*, Chapter I, II, III (Sections 3 and 5) and Chapter V.

Lenin, *Left Wing Communism*, Chapter VII

Communist Manifesto—last two pages of Chapter II

Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*—Chapter IV

Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism*—pp. 49-57

Dimitrov, *Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Ascension*—Chapter I

Additional Reading

Lenin, *State and Revolution*, Chapter IV and VI (Section 2)

Stalin, *The October Revolution and Tactics*, Chapter II (in *Leninism*)

Engels, *Origin of the Family*, Chapter 9, espec. pp. 205-217 (139-147 old edition)

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LESSON V

IMPERIALISM—PRESENT-DAY CAPITALISM

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Reading

Lenin, *Imperialism*, Chapters VII, VIII, IX and X

Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, Introduction and first two pages of Chapter I

Short Course History of the CPSU, pp. 167-172
Additional Reading

Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" *Selected Works*, Vol. XI

Lenin, *Imperialism*, Chapter I through VI

Varga, *The Great Crisis*, Chapter II first four pages

Varga, *New Data on Lenin's Imperialism*

LESSON VI

THE NEGRO QUESTION

III. The Struggle for Negro Liberation

A. The goal: The right of self-determination.

Reading

Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Chs. I and II

James Allen, *Negro Liberation* (pamphlet)

National Convention Resolution on the Present Situation and Next Tasks, Section 7 in Part II

Claudia Jones, Article, Jan. 1945 *Political Affairs*

Chokalin, *The National Question in the Soviet Union* (pamphlet)

Additional Reading

Stalin, *The National Question, The October Revolution and the National Policy of the Russian Communists*, The National Question (extract from series of lectures)

Allen, *Reconstruction and The Negro Question in the United States*

LESSON VII

SOCIALISM

II. Socialism in the Soviet Union

A. Victory of socialism has been achieved in the Soviet Union.

1) Socialist system of economy in Soviet Union—Industrialization; collectivization of agriculture

2) Elimination of antagonistic classes in the Soviet Union.

3) The Soviet Constitution reflects the present social relations and the final victory of socialism.

B. Soviet Union—a community of nations living in harmony—national equality

C. The foreign policies of the U.S.S.R. (outline policies since inception)

1) The role of the Socialist Soviet Union in the war against fascism

2) The Red Army of the Soviet Union

D. Victory of Socialism in Soviet Union (in one country) split world economy into two systems

1) Break in imperialist chain

Reading

The Soviet Constitution

History of the CPSU, Chapters 3, 6, 7

Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism*, Chapter 1, 2, and Chapter 3 part 4.

Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, Chapter III, part 3

National Convention Resolution on the *Present Situation and Next Tasks*, Part 1, Section 4.

Additional Reading

History of the CPSU, Chapters 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

Stalin, "The October Revolution and Tactics" in *Leninism*

Readings in *Leninism*, Volume on the *Proletarian Revolution*

Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Chapter 4 and 5

LESSON VII

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

B. Main features of the Communist Party which mark it as a party of a new type, distinct from the Social-Democratic parties:

2. The Party as an *organized detachment* of the working class, with its own discipline, and unity of will and action.

a. *Principles of membership* in the Communist Party.

d. The source of *unity and discipline* in the Communist Party

"Iron discipline in the Party is impossible without unity of will and without absolute and complete unity of action on the part of all members of the Party. This does not mean of course that the possibility of a conflict of opinion within the Party is thus excluded. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes criticism and conflicts of opinion within the Party. Least of all does it mean that this discipline must be 'blind' discipline. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes conscious and voluntary submission, for only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline. But after a discussion has been closed, after criticism has run its course and a decision has been made, unity of will and unity of action of all Party members become indispensable conditions without which Party unity and iron discipline in the Party are inconceivable."

Stalin, *Fundamentals of Leninism*

e. The practice of *criticism and self-criticism*

"The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is, and how it in *practice* fulfills its obligations towards its *class* and the toiling masses.

Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party, that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the *class*, and then the masses.”

Lenin, *Selected Works*, Volume X

Reading

Williamson, Report on Constitution of CPUSA—September, 1945 *Political Affairs*

Foster, Building the Communist Party—*The Worker*, Sept. 23

Foster, The Struggle Against Revisionism, Sept. *Political Affairs*, (1945)—Part II

Resolution of Present Situation and Next Tasks—*National Convention*—Part II, Ibid

Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, Ch. VIII (*The Party*), Chapter II (*The Method*)

History of the CPSU—pp. 46-52

“Eugene Dennis—“America Needs the Communist Party” Oct. *Political Affairs*

John Williamson—The Reconstitution of the CP—Sept. *Political Affairs*.

Additional Reading

Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*, Ch. II and IV and appendix Sec. IV

Thorez, Organizational Problems of the CP of France—Aug. 1945, *Political Affairs*

LESSON IX

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

II. Strategy

A. Dependence of Strategy on the Theory and Program of Marxism

1. "From a study of the objective processes of capitalism in their development and decline, the theory of Marxism arrives at the conclusion that the fall of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power by the proletariat, and the replacement of capitalism by socialism, are inevitable. *Proletarian strategy may be considered truly Marxist only when it makes this fundamental conclusion of the theory of Marxism the basis of its operations.*"

(Stalin—*Strategy and Tactics of Russian Communists*)

B. Principle features of strategy—Plan and direction of Party policy during an entire historical period. Direction of main blow and distribution of forces. Remains unchanged during entire period, changes only with new stage of revolution.

—"The most important task of strategy is to determine the main direction to be taken by the movement of the working class, the direction along which the proletariat can most advantageously deliver its main blow against its enemy in order to achieve this aim outlined in the program."

(Stalin)

C. Strategic leadership involves the mobilization of all possible allies for the working class, and of all splits in the ranks of its enemies during the given period.

III. Tactics

A. Tactics subordinate to strategy—deals with forms of struggle and forms of organization of working class, changing with new tasks and new political situation.

—"At each stage of development, at each moment, proletarian tactics must take account of these objectively unavoidable dialectics of human history, utilizing, on the one hand, the periods of political stagnation, or periods when things are moving at a snail's pace along the road of so-called 'peaceful' development, to increase the class consciousness, strength, and fighting capacity of the advanced

class; on the other hand, conducting this work in the direction of the 'final aim' of the movement of this class."

(Lenin—*Marr-Engels—Marxism*)

B. What determines tactics?

1. "In determining its line of tactics, each Communist Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the correlation of class forces, the degree of stability and strength of the bourgeoisie, the degree of preparedness of the proletariat, the position taken by the various intermediary strata in its country, etc. The Party determines its slogans and methods of struggle in accordance with those circumstances, with the view to organizing and mobilizing the masses on the broadest possible scale and on the highest possible level of this struggle."—Program of the C.I.

Reading

Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, Ch. VII, Strategy and Tactics

History of the CPSU, Ch. III, Section 3, pp. 62-77

Dimitrov, *Working Class Unity, Bulwark Against Fascism* (Report to Seventh World Congress of the C.I.) pp. 17-40, 59-83

Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*, (Principal Stages in the history of Bolshevism) Ch. VIII, IX and X

Resolution on the Present Situation and Next Tasks, National Convention, CPUSA, Sections 1 through 5

Additional Reading

Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy*

Readings in Leninism Vol. on Strategy and Tactics (Review Ch. VI and VII)

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 372

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SEPTEMBER, 1945

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM*

By William Z. Foster

* Report to the Special Convention of the Communist Political Association, held in New York, July 26-28, 1945, which reconstituted the Communist Party of the United States of America.

I. OUR PARTY'S REVISIONIST MISTAKE: ITS ORIGIN AND COURSE

E. Browder's line is a rejection of the Marxian-Leninist perspective of Socialism.

From all of this, it should be clear that Browder is preaching anti-Marxism, in fact "a notorious revision of Marxism," as Duclos said. He is fighting our Party and with it, what he has designated as "the Marxists of Europe." But like all other revisionists, he presents his opportunism under the false flag of a Marxism brought up to date. That he realizes he is making a head-on attack upon the whole body of Marxist-Leninist principles, however, is clear from his often-expressed scorn for the "old books" and "old formulas," by which, of course, he means Marxist-Leninist books and formulas. Browder would have us throw away the Marxist-Leninist classics and adopt instead his Right-wing bourgeois liberalism, which he misnames Marxism.

Before the Duclos article was published, Browder also contemplated sending a public letter to the British Communist Party urging it to orientate itself in the then approaching Parliamentary elections on the perspective of an elec-

tion alliance between the British democratic forces and the Churchill group of Tories against the reactionaries (sic). How preposterous this sounds now in view of the Labor Party's victory—over Churchill. Browder's plan, apparently, was to develop some sort of a loosely integrated cooperation between such Communist parties as he could influence, with the C.P.A. as a new-world center, with himself as its leader, and with his revisionist policies as its program. The Duclos article smashed this whole plan.

The full destructive force of Browder's revisionism would have been felt, however, if we had attempted to extend his policies over into the postwar period. This would have proved disastrous to our mass work and to our Party itself. The corrective Duclos article arrived at a most opportune time for us.

Had the Duclos article been published a few months earlier, its reception in our Party would have been much less unanimous. As things turned out, however, it appeared at just the right time. The objective situation was ripe for it, and so, increasingly, were our Party leaders and members. Hence, the stage was all set for the sudden switch in Party opinion that has perplexed so many people. Our Party has suddenly reverted to its basic Communist principles.

II. THE NEXT TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

While at the conclusion of this convention our formal general Party discussion will end and we will close our ranks and proceed in unity and discipline to the application of the line we have adopted, we must, however, conduct the broadest and deepest campaign of enlightenment we have ever led in our Party. As never before, we must train our Party in the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. To this

end we must check over the curricula, teaching personnel and textbooks of all our schools. We must re-examine all our recent literature. We must prepare new propaganda and agitation material in harmony with our new line.

Only by applying the sound principles of Leninist democratic-centralism can our Party keep its mistakes to a minimum and develop the clear-thinking unity of action and resolute discipline that are the great strength of Communist parties all over the world.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 373

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

DECEMBER, 1949

STALIN: ON HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

By Alexander Bittelman

On December 21, 1949, Stalin will be 70 years old; and all over the world, the working class and its progressive allies, whole peoples and nations, will celebrate in confidence and triumph.

It will be a historic moment of overwhelming significance. It will be a historic moment in which hundreds of millions of people throughout the world will demonstrate their belief and confidence in Stalin's cause, in Stalin's leadership. They will express their undying faith in the victory of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, headed by the Soviet Union and led by Stalin. They will express their firm determination to bring this victory about.

WHAT STALIN MEANS TO THE WORLD

Informed people are well aware by this time that from its very inception the Soviet Union has waged a consistent

fight for world peace. The October Revolution itself took place under the banner of the struggle for peace. At different times, it applied different forms and methods of struggle, but the U.S.S.R. always fought for peace.

WHAT STALIN MEANS TO THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS
MOVEMENT AND TO THE COLONIAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

A theoretical contribution of Stalin which, like the *Foundations of Leninism*, and his other theoretical works, ranks with the fundamental theoretical and philosophical works of Marx, Engels and Lenin is the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. The *History* is a fountain-head of Marxist-Leninist knowledge—theory, ideology, strategy, tactics, principles of organization. It is a guide to Marxist-Leninist action. It embodies the theoretical and programmatic positions of Marxism-Leninism.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
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PREAMBLE

The Communist Party of the United States is a political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. It champions the immediate and fundamental interests of the workers, farmers and all who labor by hand and brain, against capitalist exploitation and oppression. As the ad-

vanced party of the working-class, it stands in the forefront of this struggle.

The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and popular liberties. It uncompromisingly fights against imperialism and colonial oppression, against racial, national and religious discrimination, against Jim-Crowism, anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism.

The Communist Party struggles for the complete destruction of fascism and for a durable peace. It seeks to safeguard the welfare of the people and the nation, recognizing that the working class, through its trade unions and by its independent political action, is the most consistent fighter for democracy, national freedom and social progress.

The Communist Party holds as a basic principle that there is an identity of interest which serves as a common bond uniting the workers of all lands. It recognizes further that the true national interests of our country and the cause of peace and progress require the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples and the continued and ever closer cooperation of the United Nations.

The Communist Party recognizes that the final abolition of exploitation and oppression, of economic crises and unemployment, of reaction and war, will be achieved only by the socialist reorganization of society—by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class.

The Communist Party, therefore, educates the working class, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of Socialism. Socialism, the highest form of democracy, will guarantee the full realization of the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and will turn the achievements of labor, science and culture to the use and enjoyment of all men and women.

In the struggle for democracy, peace and social progress, the Communist Party carries forward the democratic tra-

ditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, and the great working-class traditions of Sylvis, Debs and Ruthenberg. It fights side by side with all who join in this cause.

For the advancement of these principles, the Communist Party of the United States establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution:

ARTICLE I

Name

Section I. The name of the organization shall be Communist Party of the United States of America.

ARTICLE II

Purposes

Section I. The purposes of this organization are to promote the best interests and welfare of the working class and the people of the United States, to defend and extend the democracy of our country, to prevent the rise of fascism, and to advance the cause of progress and peace with the ultimate aim of ridding our country of the scourge of economic crises, unemployment, insecurity, poverty and war, through the realization of the historic aim of the working class—the establishment of Socialism by the free choice of the majority of the American people.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section I. Any resident of the United States, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex or religious belief, who subscribes to the principles and purposes of the Communist Party, shall be eligible for membership.

Section 2. An applicant for membership shall be endorsed by at least two members of the Communist Party. Such application is subject to discussion and decision by the Club to which it is presented.

Section 3. A Party member is one who accepts the aims, principles and program of the Party as determined by its Constitution and Conventions, who belongs to a Club and attends its meetings, who is active in behalf of the Party program, who reads and circulates the Party press and literature and who pays dues regularly.

Section 4. Party members three months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members in good standing and shall be so informed. Members who are six months in arrears shall be dropped from Party membership after a personal effort has been made to bring such members into good standing. They may, however, apply for readmission within six months, and upon approval of the Club Executive Committee, be permitted to pay up back dues and maintain standing as old members.

ARTICLE IV

Rights and Duties of Members

Section 1. Every member of the Party who is in good standing has not only the right but the responsibility to participate in the making of its policies and in the election of its leading committees, officers and delegates in the manner provided for in this Constitution.

Section 2. After thorough discussion in any Club, Committee or Convention, decisions are made by a majority vote of those in attendance, and all members are duty-bound to carry out such decisions.

Section 3. Party members disagreeing with any decision of a Club, Section, County, State or District Committee have the right to appeal such decision to the next higher body until they reach the National Committee and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, members shall adhere to the decision already rendered. All appeals should be heard by the respective committee within 30 days.

Section 4. In pre-convention discussions, members have the right and duty, within the Party organization, to discuss

any and all Party policies and tactics, the right to criticize the work and composition of all leading committees, the right to participate fully in the discussion in the Party press or any other designated publications.

Section 5. In accord with the principles of democratic centralism, and in accord with Article VII, Section 7, Communist Party members shall be involved in the formulation of major policies and shall have the right and duty to examine the execution of policies.

Section 6. Communist Party members, in accord with the provisions set forth in this Constitution, have the right to be nominated and elected to all offices or committees.

Section 7. The members of a Club, by majority vote, have the right to recall any of the Club officers or committees.

Section 8. A Party member shall have the right to prefer charges against any other member of the organization in accord with Article VIII, Section 6. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention. Appeals to the National Convention shall be heard by a Committee established for such purposes by the Convention.

Section 9. Members are obligated to fight with all their strength, against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within our country, to destroy the rights of labor and the people, or to impose upon the United States the arbitrary will of any group or party or clique or conspiracy, thereby violating the unqualified right of the majority of the people to direct the destinies of our country.

Section 10. All members shall strive to acquire an understanding of the fundamentals of Marxism, to explain the policies of the Party and the principles of Socialism, and to apply Communist consciousness, understanding, responsibility and initiative in their work and activity.

Section 11. It shall be the obligation of all Party members to struggle against all forms of national oppression, national chauvinism, discrimination and segregation, against all ideological influences and practices of barbarous "racial" theories, such as white chauvinism and anti-Semit-

ism. It shall be the duty of all Party members to fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people and promote the unity of the Negro and white people as essential for the advancement of their common interests.

Section 12. All members shall be required to belong to the respective trade unions to which they are eligible, and to promote the best interests of the members of any organization to which they belong.

Section 13. All members eligible shall register and vote in the elections for public offices.

Section 14. The Party shall give full aid in the acquisition of U. S. citizenship to those of its members who, because of unjust and undemocratic laws and practices, are deprived of this right.

ARTICLE V

Initiation Fees, Dues and Assessments

Section 1. Initiation fees and dues shall be paid according to rates fixed by the National Convention.

Section 2. The income from dues and initiation fees shall be distributed to the various subdivisions of the Party as determined by the National Convention.

Section 3. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee. All local or district assessments are prohibited except by special permission of the National Committee.

ARTICLE VI

Structure

Section 1. The basic organization of the Party is the Club which shall be organized on a shop, community or industrial basis.

The officers and executive committees of the Clubs shall be elected by the membership by a secret ballot once a year.

The Clubs shall meet regularly and shall establish appropriate committees under the direction of the Club Executive Committee.

Section 2. The State organization shall comprise all clubs in one State and shall have the power to establish all necessary subdivisions such as county, city, or section organizations and committees.

The highest body of the State organization is the State Convention, which shall convene at least once every two years and be composed of delegates elected by the conventions of the subdivisions of the Party or by the Clubs in the state. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of numerical strength. Delegates to the state conventions shall have been members of the Party in continuous good standing for at least one year.

The State Convention shall elect by secret ballot and majority vote, a State Committee. A member to be eligible for election to the State Committee shall have been in continuous good standing for at least two years. The State Committee has the responsibility to carry out the Convention decisions and direct the activities of the State organization between State Conventions.

The State Committee shall elect from among its members a Chairman, and such other officers and committees as it decides upon. These shall all be responsible to the State Committee.

Special State Conventions may be called by either a majority vote of the State Committee, or upon written request of Clubs representing one-third of the membership of the State.

Section 3. District organizations may be established by the National Committee. Where these cover two or more states, the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committee, elected by and representing the Party membership of the States composing these districts. The rules for convening the District Conventions and the election of leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the State organization.

Section 4. In matters of a local, state or district nature, the clubs, section, county, State and District Committees have the right to make decisions within the limits of the

general policies and Constitution of the Party and its Convention.

Section 5. All officers and leading committees of the Party, from the Club Executive Committee to the highest committees, shall be elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Committees and officers must report regularly on their activities to the body which elected them.

Section 6. Any Party officers may be removed at any time from their position by a majority vote of the body which elected them, or by the committee to which they are responsible.

ARTICLE VII

National Organization

Section 1. The highest authority of the Party is the National Convention. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years. The National Conventions are authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership, except as provided in Article VII, Section 7.

Section 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of the numerical strength of the state or district organizations. The basis for representation shall be determined by the National Committee. Delegates to the National Convention shall have been members of the Party in continuous good standing for at least two years.

Section 3. Special National Conventions may be called either by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee or by vote of two-thirds of all State and District Committees. The time and place of such special Conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee, which shall also fix the basis for representation at such special Conventions and the manner of selection of delegates.

Section 4. Prior to regular National Conventions, at least 60 days shall be provided for discussion in all Party Clubs and leading committees on the main resolutions and problems coming before the Convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right to adopt resolutions and propose amendments to the draft resolutions and the Constitution for consideration by the Convention.

Section 5. The National Convention shall elect a National Committee by a majority vote. A member of the Party to be eligible for election to the National Committee shall have been in continuous good standing for at least five years.

Section 6. The number of members of the National Committee shall be determined by a majority vote of each National Convention.

Section 7. The National Committee is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution and the execution of the general policies adopted by the National Convention.

Between National Conventions, the National Committee is the highest authority of the Party, representing the Party as a whole, and as such the sole and complete authority to make all decisions and take all actions necessary and incidental to the good and welfare of the entire Party, and to act upon all problems and developments occurring between Conventions. In connection with its duties, and in the exercise of its responsibilities therefor, the National Committee shall guide and direct all the political and organizational work of the Party; organize and supervise its various departments and committees; elect or remove editors of its publications who shall work under its leadership and guidance; organize and direct all undertakings of importance to the entire Party; and administer the national treasury. The National Committee shall submit a certified audited financial report to each National Convention.

The National Committee shall have the duty and the authority to make such decisions or take such actions as it deems necessary in any emergency or situation affecting the life and welfare of the Party.

The National Committee is authorized in its discretion from time to time to delegate to the National Officers or any of them, any of the duties, responsibilities or authorities of the National Committee.

Section 8. The National Committee shall elect a chairman, a general secretary, and such other officers or committees as it decides upon.

The officers and committees elected by the National Committee are responsible for their decisions and actions to the National Committee. Members of such committees and all officers may be removed or replaced by a majority vote of the National Committee.

Section 9. The National Committee shall meet as often as necessary at the call of the officers or by a majority vote of the National Committee.

ARTICLE VIII

Appeals and Disciplinary Procedure

Section 1. The National Committee (and respective State and District Committees) shall establish a Review Committee to guard against and review violations of the Party Constitution and principles, to review and hear appeals and disciplinary cases, to guarantee regular audits of the financial books and records of the Party.

The National Review Committee shall consist of tested members with exemplary records who shall have been members of the Party for not less than five years.

Section 2. Conduct or action detrimental to the working class and the nation, as well as to the interests of the Party, violation of decisions of its leading committees or of this Constitution, financial irregularities, or other conduct unbecoming a member of the Party, may be punished by censure, removal from posts of leadership, or by expulsion from membership. Such conduct or action by any committee may be punished by removal of the committee by the State or National Committee, which shall then order new elections for said committee.

Section 3. Any member shall be expelled from the Party who is found to be a strikebreaker, provocateur, engaged in espionage, or who advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who adheres to or participates in the activities of any group or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy through which the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies.

Section 4. The practice or advocacy of any form of racial, national or religious discrimination shall be grounds for expulsion from membership.

Section 5. Personal or political relations with enemies of the working class and nation are incompatible with membership of the Communist Party.

Section 6. Charges against individual members or committees may be made by any member of the Club of which the one charged is a member or to the appropriate higher committee having jurisdiction. Clubs shall act upon charges directed against anyone holding membership in that Club. All such charges shall be handled expeditiously.

Section 7. All persons concerned in disciplinary cases shall have the right to appear, to bring witness and testify.

Section 8. The Club or leading committee having jurisdiction shall have the right to decide by majority vote upon any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Disciplinary measures taken by leading committees are subject to approval by the body to which they are responsible.

Section 9. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention, whose decision shall be final.

ARTICLE IX

Amending the Constitution

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any regular or special National Convention.

ARTICLE X

Section 1. The Communist Party is not responsible for any political document, policy, book, article, or any other expression of political opinion except such as are issued by authority of this and subsequent national conventions and its regularly constituted leadership.

*Adopted by the Communist Party, U.S.A., July 28, 1945.
Amended by the Communist Party, U.S.A., August 6, 1948.*

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 375

Daily Worker, December 21, 1949

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COMMUNIST PARTY HERE GREETs STALIN

A telegram greeting Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin on the occasion of his 70th birthday was sent yesterday by the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States. The telegram, signed by William Z Foster, chairman, and Eugene Dennis, general secretary, is as follows:

Joseph Stalin

Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Dear Comrade Stalin,

On your 70th birthday the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, voicing the sentiments of the advanced workers and progressive-minded Americans, sends you heartiest congratulations and warmest greetings. Like the Communists and other true partisans of peace, democracy and progress in all lands, we hail your more than 50 years of sterling leadership in the interest of the international working class and humanity.

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Under a Hitler-like anti-Soviet and anti-Communist smokescreen, the American imperialists launched their

predatory and aggressive Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, and North Atlantic Pact.

Undaunted by the threats of the war instigators, the USSR steadfastly pursues its Stalinist peace policy and promotes cooperation with all who strive for peace. And the mighty world camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union, daily becomes more powerful and is destined to triumph.

In our country, too, the organized peace forces, among the workers, the Negro people, men and women of science and culture, are growing and will continue to grow in unison with the peace forces of the world. By waging a most active, determined and united struggle for peace, the people can frustrate the designs of the imperialist warmakers and the criminal intrigues of their Titoite agents and reactionary social democratic lackeys.

With full confidence in the American working class and people, the Communist Party of the USA exerts every effort to assure that by their united action they will check and help defeat the fascist-minded monopolists and war-mongers.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 376

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

FEBRUARY, 1951

FIFTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

This special, enlarged issue is devoted to reports, speeches, and greetings of the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., held in New York City on December 28-31, 1950. The Resolution was published in

the January 1951 issue. The main report, *Peace Can Be Won!*, by Comrade Gus Hall, and the report, *The Negro People in the Struggle for Peace and Freedom*, by Comrade Benjamin J. Davis, have been published separately in pamphlet form.

GEAR THE PARTY FOR ITS GREAT TASKS

By Henry Winston

Our Party now prepares to give more effective leadership to the struggle of the masses in the immediate period ahead.

A SOUND CONCENTRATION POLICY

What is the real basis for our concentration policy?

The Resolution before us states:

"The Party National Convention calls upon the whole Party to establish guarantees that a real policy of industrial concentration will be carried forward, and that major attention is given to the workers in the stronghold of trustified capital, which happens also to be the stronghold of the reactionary labor officialdom. For by winning the workers in the industries, we will be influencing the thinking and actions of the entire labor movement.

ESSENCE OF OUR CONCENTRATION POLICY

More, we recognized that the fight for Socialism, which proceeds through the struggle for democracy, could advance only if we had a strong Communist Party anchored in the shops, and playing a leading role in the struggles of the working class.

THE MAIN DIRECTION OF THE PARTY'S TRADE-UNION WORK

By John Williamson

THE DECISIVE CHARACTER OF OUR WORK

Therefore, the main direction of our trade-union work, must be among the members of the reformist-led unions.

CO-ORDINATION OF PROGRESSIVE UNIONS

At the same time, we must recognize that the cause of the working class as a whole cannot advance unless a firm alliance is established with the Negro people, and unless the working class assumes its full responsibility in support of the struggle of the oppressed Negro nation for freedom.

III. THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

Time does not permit an overall estimate of the role of our Party through its 31 years of existence. Such a study would give us much valuable material from which to draw lessons. At certain periods of our Party's history we made especially great contributions in influencing the course of development of the workers movement, in our initiation and support for many mass movements, struggles and organizational activities, which have transformed the size and the influence of the organized working class. All of this was necessary for our Party to do—but by itself such activity did not develop Socialist consciousness among the masses.

IV. THE WORK OF THE TRADE-UNION DEPARTMENT

The present situation demands from all Party trade unionists, especially in positions of leadership, closer ties with the Party, better understanding of policies, and a more vigorous fight for Party policies among the masses.

We know that despite all the tempests and storms that may still beset us, the working class will move forward, and that our Party, headed by its helmsmen Foster and Dennis, will lead the working class safely to the port of Socialism.

SHARPEN THE FIGHT AGAINST BROWDERISM, TITOISM, TROTSKYISM

By John Gates

History proves that the continued struggle of the renegades from Marxism against the Communist Party inevitably and logically leads to struggle against the Soviet Union and to becoming outright agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie. This is the story of Browder.

STRENGTHEN PARTY VIGILANCE

Comrades, our Party is ideologically sound and united. We have long ago defeated Browderism, Titoism and Trotskyism. But we cannot afford to be complacent. This Convention has called attention to the new dangerous tendencies of liquidationism. We need to be alert to the danger of factionalism.

THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ECONOMY ON THE SOUTH

By Jim Jackson

Thanks to changes in the correlation of social forces on a world scale, in favor of democracy and Socialism and to the detriment of world imperialism, a number of the na-

tional liberation struggles have swept forward to brilliant successes. These changes are revealed, in the triumph of the Chinese revolution, resulting in liberation of a half billion human beings; in the heroic people of Korea administering an anguishing military rebuff to the would-be Hitlerite adventurers of American imperialism and in the setting aflame of the hopes, aspirations and determined struggles of all the unfree peoples of the earth.

The South is the seat of the oppressed Negro nation in the United States (with all the revolutionary portent that it holds for the forces of peace and advancement in our country), as well as the area of the most unrelieved political reaction, chauvinism and social backwardness. It is essential that we analyze and estimate the probable consequences upon the South of the new stage—the M-Day stage—in our government's drive toward new wars for world conquest, and the effect this can have on the fight for peace.

THE YOUTH IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE, AGAINST MILITARIZATION

By Carl Ross

This Convention reflects real progress in our youth work and better understanding of our Party policy in this field. The period since the last Convention has been marked by many noteworthy events in developing our fight to win the youth, fully confirming the correctness of the general line of our Party in youth work.

The 1948 Convention of our Party gave important emphasis to the need of establishing a non-Party working-class youth organization dedicated to the training of the youth in the spirit of Socialism. The Labor Youth League, and its truly historic first National Convention, held a few weeks ago, marks the realization in life of this policy, and closes the gap of almost a decade during which time a youth organization of this type has been absent.

The recent founding Convention of the Labor Youth League, culminating its work of a year and a half, has made a deep impression on our whole Party. In this short time the League has proven itself to be a worthy heir of all the best traditions of the Young Communist League, its 25-year record of struggle and its training of many of the outstanding leaders of our Party today. But we are still slow to grasp the full meaning of the establishment of this independent working-class youth organization.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MILITARIZATION

There can be no fully effective fight for peace without waging a struggle against the militarization of the youth.

YOUTH ISSUES DEMAND ATTENTION

It follows that these are some of the most immediate issues around which our Party must develop an energetic struggle.

1. No extension of the draft to 18-year olds, veterans and married men. No lengthening of the draft service term. No universal military service and training.

THE LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE

Experience has borne out fully the correctness of establishing L.Y.L. as an independent non-Party mass youth organization. The best answer to those comrades who two years ago thought Party youth clubs filled the need for youth work are the thousands of non-Party members of L.Y.L. who are today participating in its activities and learning in a Marxist spirit.

SOME IDEOLOGICAL TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

By Betty Gannett

The Party's ideological and theoretical work is determined by the central political task of the day—the struggle for peace—the mobilization of the working class, the Negro people, and other democratic and peace-loving forces into a powerful front to defeat imperialist reaction and its drive to war.

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 WARS, JUST AND UNJUST

Let me here dwell briefly on three important ideological questions related to the struggle for peace.

Of prime importance is the need to render more effective our correct explanations as to the unjust, expansionist character of the war against the Korean people, and the world war U.S. imperialism is plotting.

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 THE NEED TO POPULARIZE SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS

Thirdly, since one of the main pillars of U.S. imperialism is its anti-Sovietism, our inadequate popularization of the truth about the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy have seriously impeded the realization of a peace front in the country.

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Two tendencies are to be noted in the progressive movement—affecting also certain comrades in our Party—in regard to popularizing the achievements of Socialism and defending the Soviet Union. On the one hand, some retreat before the heavy pressures of bourgeois propaganda among the workers. This is said without minimizing the constant barrage of anti-Sovietism our comrades face in the shops today. On the other hand, some meet this propaganda with mere assertions that the Soviet Union is for peace and not an aggressor, etc., without being able to bolster such statements with facts, with intimate explanations of why a